JPRS 78750 14 August 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No. 1910



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AWP ORGAN COMMENTS ON 'UNCHECKED' ARMS RACE

AU241930 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Numerous meetings have been and are being staged in various European countries "to secure" Europe and the world against war. Various high-ranking imperialist and revisionist emissaries are meeting to determine the limits of the "balance" that has been upset by one or the other superpower of their respective military blocs, as well as countermeasures to restore the "balance." The so-called conference on European "security" has been meeting for 8 months to determine "effective measures to prevent war" in Europe. Every 2 or 3 months the Vienna sessions "for the mutual reduction of troops and arms" in central Europe are resumed and concluded, for 7 years now. A full 21 years have elapsed since 15 March 1960, when the UN Disarmament Committee began its proceedings in Geneva and hundreds of international sessions have taken place without any results whatsoever. A meeting of the disarmament commission of the Socialist International has just been concluded in Moscow, also without results, as is usual.

This pacifist wind, which imperialism and social imperialism are striving to raise, cannot deceive the peoples. The daily reality proves to the peoples that disarmament is a distant and unattainable illusion, while the feverish arms race between the two superpowers and their rival blocs is real. Assuming a pacifist pose, as usual, Leonid Brezhnev declared recently at the same time that "the Kremlin will order an increase in Soviet military forces, and, should it become necessary, we will find the necessary means to defend our vital interests." Nor does Washington miss any occasion to confirm its unchanged policy regarding strengthening its military potential and all the military bodies that it leads. Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European affairs, stated that the United States will continue its efforts in that direction, thus also exerting pressure on its partners in the Atlantic alliance. He stated that "failure to strengthen nuclear and conventional European defense can cause great and permanent harm to NATO."

Drawing up a balance sheet of such demagogic conferences during the past two decades, the European press wrote recently that nothing has been accomplished in 3,000 sessions. On the contrary, increasingly higher military budgets have been approved. The military budgets of the two superpowers at the time of the Helsinki Conference amounted to approximately \$100 billion each. That sum has now been doubled. U.S. military expenditures for the 1982 financial year, which

begins in October, will reach \$200 billion. The military expenditure of the Soviet social imperialists, meanwhile, accounts for 14 percent of the overall national product. The military bases, troops and fleets of the superpowers have been deployed throughout the globe. The two rival aggressive blocs have concentrated over 3 million troops, 38,000 tanks, 9,000 military aircraft and about 7,000-8,000 U.S. nuclear warheads, while the Soviet Union is installing SS-20, SS-21 and SS-22 missiles at the rate of one a week.

This large arsenal of weapons, which is almost 3-4 times larger than on the threshold of World War II, appears insufficient to the two superpowers for the "security" of Europe and, simultaneously, to achieve a position of superiority over each other. "Our objectives can be attained," declared U.S. Secretary of State Haig, "if we can establish U.S. leadership" in the world. NATO is to install for that purpose an additional 600 "cruise" and "Pershing-2" missiles in Europe. The Soviet social imperialists, on their side, have declared that "we will never allow the established balance to be disrupted."

Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have carried out a number of land, sea and air maneuvers in Europe, from the North Atlantic to the Mediterranean, off the shores of Portugal, on the territories of both East and West Germany, in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and so forth. The aggressive fleets of the two superpowers are sailing the seas and oceans thousands of kilometers away from their own shores. According to the French newspaper LE MONDE, some 62 U.S. and Soviet warships, a number of aircraft carriers with several hundred aircraft and thousands of troops on board are patrolling the Mediterranean alone. A similar large number of warships are permanently present in the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere.

The fires of war being lit by the superpowers throughout the world, their aggressions against the peoples and the brandishing of weapons have taught the peoples not to expect anything form the demagogic disarrament conferences being staged by imperialism and revisionism. There can be no talk of disarmament in the capitalist order, because the militarization of the country's life, aggressiveness, and economic, political and military expansion are in the very nature of imperialism and social imperialism. The question of disarmament resembles an unending comedy of deceit, the main clowns of which are the United States and the Soviet Union, Helsinki, Belgrade, Madrid, Vienna or Geneva are only the stages on which this tragic-comedy is being played with the purpose of deceiving the peoples and, if possible, each other.

CSO: 2100/91

AWP ORGAN VIEWS SUPERPOWERS' ECONOMIC COOPERATION

AU242007 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] It has become fashionable in the Kremlin to clamorously release from time to time balloons with slogans of "peace" and "constructive" proposals to "reduce tension."

In one of his well-known poses as the "desirer of world peace," Brezhnev reiterated recently that "what characterizes our position is our aspiration for a just and stable peace." It appears that he had forgotten that only 2 weeks before he had threatened that "if necessary we will find the means to defend our vital interests." The U.S. imperialists, on their side, are stressing that a "stable peace" can only be achieved with a strong NATO and a strong United States. However, despite the disagreements and the high tone of political rhetoric between the two superpowers, imperialist-revisionist business relations are going on. Soviet-American economic cooperation has proceeded on its course and has been strengthened, particularly more recently. This profitable business is precisely the driving power of the imperialist-revisionist detente, about which Brezhnev himself has stressed that "we will spare no efforts in the future to preserve detente and all the good things achieved in the seventies."

As a reflection of the interveaving of the capitalist interests of both sides, the policy of imperialist-revisionist detente has by now created its own economic base, nurturing powerful material interests related to the export of capital and securing markets. An imperialist-revisionist partnership has been established on this foundation to jointly exploit the peoples of the East and West, as well as the undeveloped countries, to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars. The real substance of the Brezhnevite slogans of "peace" and "reduction of tension" lays precisely in this interimperialist business, whose cost is borne by the peoples.

In this context, "all the good things" that the seventies brought to Brezhnev and the Soviet social imperialists pertain to the complete integration of the Soviet Union in the world system of imperialist exploitation of the peoples, as a partner and rival of U.S. imperialism in the struggle for markets and zones of influence. Imperialist-revisionist integration assumed its complete form and substance in the economic field in the seventies. Trade relations increased 5 times, to over \$80 billion. The debts incurred by the revisionist countries

in the West surpassed that limit and the capital invested in joint bourgeoisrevisionist enterprises, both within and outside the "socialist community," even exceeds the total sum of the debts incurred. Soviet propaganda is boasting about new record achievements on the road of this imperialist-revisionist flirt, stressing that during the 1971-75 period alone, more cooperation agreements were signed with Western monopolies "than during the entire period preceding the existence of the Soviet state." To illustrate these "achievements," Moscow is praising to the skies the privileged agreements concluded by the Soviet state monopolies with 2,000 FRG firms, 1,000 Italian firms, 600 French firms, 280 of the larger U.S. monopolies and so forth. Those links, the Soviet revisionists are stressing, "serve to stabilize the economic situation in the capitalist countries at a time of crisis," because "economic relations with the socialist countries assure sufficient profits to the Western enterprises." It is precisely from such positions that the most reactionary politicians and parties in the West also support detente. That is also what Reagan did recently by annulling the economic embargo on the Soviet Union, which was but a drop in the bucket of the broad and deep East-West economic links. "The capitalist interests of both sides," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "are so great that, in particular circumstances, they surface above all frictions, rivalries and conflicts."

Moscow has always accompanied its pacifistic calls with the offer of fat contracts of cooperation with Western monopolies. Recently, PRAVDA renewed an offer of participation in the Kremlin's multibillion dollar energy projects in exchange for "guaranteed supplies up to the year 2000 and beyond." On the occasion PRAVDA openly described the Soviet-Western partnership as "the most effective" and profitable form of "international cooperation," praising it even higher than the Soviet Union's cooperation with "the countries of the socialist community." The various bodies set up in the framework of this imperialist-revisionist partnership to exploit the peoples throughout the world are increasing. Authoritative revisionist sources currently count over 500 joint companies in all continents, in 117 of which Soviet capital is participating directly.

These are the "political and economic results" of the bourgeois-revisionist "peace" praised by Brezhnev. He stated that "the preservation and consolidation of world peace" is a "very necessary and mutually beneficial effort" to be achieved "through joint capital investment by East and West." The revisionist concept of "peace" is thus based on the logic of a neocolonial partnership between imperialism and social imperialism to keep the peoples under their yoke and to "peacefully" exploit their wealth.

That is why the Soviet Union is an "attractive partner for Western business circles," as Soviet propaganda likes to boast. It is not fortuitous that the major part of those circles velcomes the "balloons of prace" released by the Kremlin, when the wealth plundered from the peoples flows so freely.

CSO: 2100/91

POISON HANDLING LAW'S IMPLICATIONS FOR ARMED FORCES DETAILED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 1, Jan-Feb 81 manuscript received 10 Nov 80 pp 37-39

[Article by Lt Col Prof D. Stremmel, doctor of medical science; Lt Col K. Hollenbach, MD; and Maj H. Bleyer, MD: "The Significance of the New GDR Poison Law for the Medical Service of the National People's Army (NVA)"]

[Text] The increasing use of chemicals in all areas of the economy requires the strict observance of lawful provisions and statutory regulations in handling poisons in order to assure the protection of health and 'abor as well as the environment. Analogous military dispositions specify the provisions of the Poisons Law for the NVA. Their enforcement requires close cooperation between the commanders and leaders, their representatives for protection against poisons and the chief of the medical service.

1. Introduction

The continually increasing number of chemical substances that affect people in conjunction with growing scientific and technical progress increases the necessity of determining risk to health through substances foreign to the body and issuing appropriate regulations for protection and safety in order to avoid cases of poisoning.

At present about 600,000 to 700,000 different chemical substances are actively used in the world. Of these about 100,000 can be considered to be potential toxic agents which, in addition to naturally occurring poisons, harm not only people but animals and plants as well and can cause considerable environmental damage.

The effect or harm from a poison is understood to be the unwholesome consequence of the biological interaction of chemical substances with structures of the body. These effects, however, depend not only on the chemical substances with structures of the body, These effects, however, depend not only on the chemical substance but also on the dose (or the concentration), the place of operation (place of contact or path of assimilation), the frequency of operation and the total time of operation. As a result, a compound must be judged according to its qualitative as well as its quantitative characteristics. Quantitative parameters achieve increasing

significance in the determination of a health risk resulting from a chemical compound or in deriving necessary protection and safety provisions.

The 1950 GDR Poisons Law, whose jurisdiction primarily covered the issue and handling of poisons in the area of commerce, was, in the face of increasing use of potential poisons in all areas of the socialist economic system, no longer adequate to insure an effective protection of health and labor for the citizens. Therefore, a new statutory control became necessary in order to provide for safe handling of poisonous material in industry, agriculture, commerce and in other areas, including the NVA and the GDR border troops, and to provide for the elimination of nonreusable toxic waste products. The 7 April, 1977 law regulating the handling of poisons (Poisons Law), as well as the implementing regulations, directives and other statutory provisions issued in conjunction with it support these requirements. This law serves to further improve health and labor protection, as well as protect the natural environment while employing the inherent advantages of socialism.

The new Poisons Law cannot, however, cover the entire complex of harmful substances. Therefore, it and analogous laws as, for example, the Medicaments Law, the Addictive Drugs Law and the Atomic Energy Law form a unified package. Beyond that, lawful regulations were issued in the various areas of the national economy to supplement these provisions. The regulations allow for specific characteristics and have been adapted to the needs of individual branches of the economy. In the NVA the handling of poisons by members of the army and civilian employees of the NVA is governed by military regulations, namely the poison protection regulation and its implementing directives. Thus these are the basic military regulations for handling poisons in the NVA medical service. They also establish the specific tasks resulting from the medical care of army members and civilian employees who work with poisons, as well as the jobs arising out of the advisory capacity of the medical service.

2. Responsibilities and Prerequisites in Handling Poisons

The Poisons Law specifies that the leaders are to create all the prerequisites in their areas of responsibility for orderly handling of poisons. That is, by means of strict control they must guarantee the observance of valid lawful regulations and operational instructions for handling poisons. Depending upon the type and quantity, only those poisons can be stocked that are necessary to complete the tasks at hand. In addition, the leaders have the responsibility of seeing that representatives for poison protection possessing the required personal aptitude and expertise are appointed for the areas in which poisons are handled. By analogy that is valid for the NVA and the GDR border troops also. The commanders and leaders at all levels are fully responsible for implementing the provisions for handling poisons set forth in the military instructions and statutory regulations. They also appoint the representatives for poison protection, who advise them in all technical questions of poison protection and take responsibility for controls. The representatives for poison protection are also tasked with continually improving their technical knowledge and skills in the area of poison protection and developing the necessary qualifying measures for acquiring permits or partial permits for handling poisons.

According to the valid military regulations and the Poisons Law, these permits and partial permits at the corresponding level are the basic requirement for handling

poisons in the NVA. That is, poisons can be employed only by persons or under the guidance of persons possessing a valid permit.

This determination of responsibility in handling poisons also provides various tasks for the chiefs, commanders or managers of medical installations in the NVA, in whose area of responsibility poisons are used. Every chief, commander or manager must:

- -- Know the poisons used in his area of responsibility
- -- Determine who is authorized to work with these poisons
- --Guarantee that the representatives gain the required technical qualification and pass the examination for obtaining the appropriate permit or partial permit for handling poisons
- --Enow the pertinent military and statutory provisions and assure by means of periodic controls that they are observed and that consequently the procurement, storage, issues, packaging, record keeping, removal, transportation and use of poisons take place in accordance with statutory regulations and military instructions -- Assure the documented instruction of personnel handling poisons prior to the beginning of a one-time activity or monthly in accordance with military instructions -- Determine the scope of and means of wearing personnel protection systems for use in handling poisons
- --Guarantee that appropriate directives are developed for working with poisons and that only those poisons are stored that are necessary to complete a given task ---Cooperate with the duly qualified representatives for poison protection in all questions within their competence

3. Definition and Classification of Poisons

Poisons are defined in the Poisons Law as follows:
"As defined in this law poisons are chemical substances (elements, compounds or mixtures) which through their toxic effect in a living organism can cause temporary or permanent impairment to health or death."

In accordance with test criteria established by the health minister in the first implementing directive to the Poisons Law of 31 May, 1977, poisons are divided into two divisions according to the degree of danger to human life and health. We distinguish highly toxic substances (poisons in division one in the Poisons Law or class A in military directives) from toxic substances (poisons in division two or class B).

The basis for the classification of a poison is the texicity of its effects as determined in experiments with animals or derived from empirical human studies. Various means of application as well as various times and frequencies of operation were considered in the classification. Thus a poison is to be classified in division one when a single oral dose of .15mg per kg of body mass kills more than 50 percent of treated rats within 48 hours, or when a daily oral dose one-tenth as large for at least 5 days each week during a period of 12 weeks also kills 50 percent of the animals within 16 weeks or produces irreversible damage.

A poison is classified in division two when under analogous test conditions a dose of from .15 to 1.5mg per kg of body mass or one-tenth as much in the succhronic dose kills more than 50 percent of the test animals.

Similar peripheral values have been established for inhalant and percutaneous absorption of poison. But since the effects determined in animal experiments are often of little value for humans, a substance cannot be classified as a poison solely on the basis of these data, but is discussed and nominated by a committee of experts under consideration of other empirical values. The list of poisons that have been classified is maintained at the Health Ministry. Changes and additions are made public by the health minister.

Individual poisons are shown in both divisions of the list of poisons (second implementing directive to the Poisons Law, poison protection regulation) dependent upon the concentration. The reason is that dose, chronological order and length of exposure determine the effects of a substance along with qualitative characteristics. In addition, a certain uncertainty factor remains, because not all conditions of exposure can be considered in statutory provisions. Here the military doctor with knowledge of the immediate situation and considering empirical values of military work hygiene is to cooperate with the representative for poison protection in advising his superior which measures should be prescribed in order to avoid cases of poisoning.

The handling of medicaments or equivalent substances and preparations which likevise constitute or contain poisons is not governed by the Poisons Law, but is subject to the provisions of the Medicaments Law or Addictive Substances Law. That does not, however, apply to the primary components, which are to be bandled in accordance with the provisions of the Poisons Law. The provisions of the poisons definition or the classification of poisons yield the following conclusions for; the chiefs, commanders or managers of installations of the NVA medical service:

-- The classification of poisons in class A (division one) or class B (division two) is to be reviewed in accordance with the concentration and conditions of use. The classification of a poison determines the appropriate military provisions to be considered in handling the poison.

-The responsible military doctor is to advise the competent superior in the setting of safety provisions. At the same time actual conditions of use, references to possible signs of poisoning and standards of work hygiene are to be considered. --Installations where primary components for medicatment are stored and used, provided that these are also poisons, consideration is to be taken that they be governed by the provisions of the Poisons Law. The provisions of the Nedicaments Law apply for medicaments and equivalent substances and preparations.

4. Storing, Recording, Packaging and Labeling of Poisons

The Poisons Law stipulates that the handling of poisons is to take place so as to preclude improper use and access to poisons by unauthorized persons. Records are to be kept of the inventory, receipt and issue of poisons. The packaging of poisons must be completely leakproof and durable. They are to te separately labeled and may not be used for other purposes.

Detailed instructions for the procurement, storing, issue, packaging, recording, removal, transportainn and use of poisons are found in the first implementing directive to the Poisons Law of 31 May, 1977, as well as in the applicable military directives.

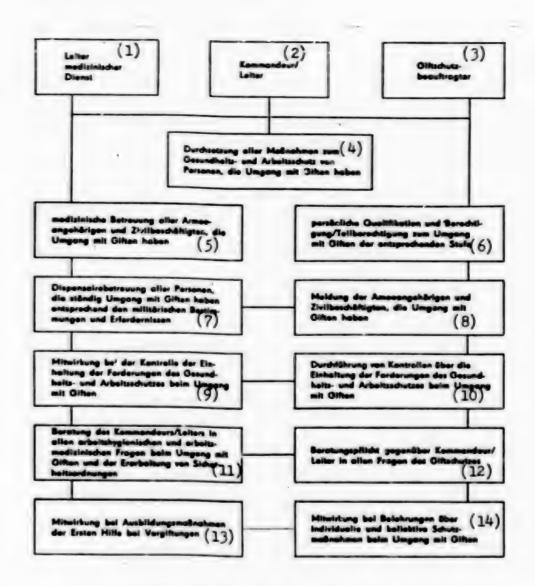


Table 1. Tasks to Guarantee Poison Protection

- Key: 1. Chief of the medical service
 - 2. Commander or leader
 - 3. Representative for protection against poisons
 - 4. Enforcement of all measures for health and labor protection of persons who handle poisons
 - Medical care of all members of the army and civilian employees handling poisons
 - Personal qualification and permit or partial permit to handle poisons of the appropriate level
 - 7. Dispensary treatment of all persons who constantly handle poisons in accordance with military provisions and requirements

- 8. Registration of members of the army and civilian employees who handle poisons
- 9. Cooperation in controlling the observance of the requirements of health and labor protection in handling poisons
- 10. Enforcement of the controls for observing the requirements of health and labor protection in handling of poisons
- Advising of the commander or leader in all questions concerning labor hygiene and labor medicine in the handling of poisons and in the development of safety regulations
- 12. Responsibility to advise the commander or leader in all questions concerning poison protection
- 13. Cooperation in first-aid training measures in the case of poisoning
- Cooperation in providing instruction on individual and collective protective measures in handling poisons

Depending upon the classification of the poison, precedures are to be followed for each division or poison class in accordance with the provisious. The disposal of toxic waste products is governed by the stipulations of the second implementing provision to the sixth implementing regulation of the National Culture Act of 21 April, 1977, as well as the regulation for the handling of dangerous aquatic substances dated 15 December, 1977, along with the pertinent military dispositions.

5. Special Tasks for the Medical Service

In accordance with the stipulations in the military directives, the chiefs or managers of the medical service are responsible for the medical care of all members of the army and civilian employees in the NVA and GDR border troops who work with poisons.

In this regard they are to:

- --Provide dispensary care for persons who regularly handle poisons in classes A and B (or divisions one and two)
- -- Receive the report of the representative for poison protection on exposed personnel and inform the appropriate installation in the NVA medical service
- -- Inform the representative for poison protection of the requirements for examination of army members and civilian employees, who then is to carry out the instructions -- Assure the performance of suitability and repeat examinations on the basis of statutory regulations
- -- Keep a list by name of the dispensary group
- -- Develop an individual treatment plan for all those included in this dispensary group
- -- Document each examination of those treated for exposure topoison
- --Report the results of the suitability or repeat examinations to the commander or leader
- --Control the observance of the appropriate medical provisions for those under dispensary treatment and report to the commander or leader in the case of noncompliance
- --Arrange for concluding examinations immediately after termination of poison use --After termination of poison use safeguard the documentation on the suitability, repeat and concluding examinations for 50 years and
- --Organize prophylactic courses of treatment for authorized personnel in accordance with military provisions and statutory regulations.

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CSO: 2300/256

MARXISH-LENINISM PROFESSOR REFLECTS ON NATIONAL UNITY, PATRIOTISM

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 23-25

[Article by Docent Dr habilitatus Bronislaw Ratus, scholar of the PZPR Central Committee Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] More than any other time, the period of severe crisis in our country leads us to reflect upon our homeland, our nation and our state, as well as our own role in these great historical and political events. It is essentially a reflection upon patriotism, which is the supportive structure of civic views and the tasks issuing from these views in public life.

/Thus patriotism is linked more with a feeling than with scientific-type knowledge./ And every feeling has its own enormous scope of intimacy which quickly loses value as it becomes subject to excessive public proclamation. Actions are more important than words where feelings are concerned. Such is also the case with love of the homeland.

Every feeling should be connected with elements of rationalism.

Socialist patriotism differs from earlier varieties of patriotism in that it is linked to proletarian internationalism. This connection is the most effective way of renouncing nationalism, on the one hand, and cosmopolitanism and national nihilism, on the other. /Internationalism, by virtue of its class genesis, essence and function, must issue from rationalism, from scientific-type knowledge./

In the life of every nation, patriotic slogans are expressed, remembered and are sometimes even overused, or they become points of contention, particularly during periods of difficulty for the nation and state. Patriotism, then, belongs to that group of values which affect whole nations; thus their great motivating and mobilizing power.

Socia 'ist Patriotism

Socialist patriotism includes the basic values created by various social classes in earlier forms. The socialist system adds new values to the values which make up patriotism, enriching them and broadening considerably the traditional notions of patriotism.

In attempting to answer the question, what are the values that make up the comment of Polish socialist patriotism, we may point out the following characteristics:

- --pride issuing from a knowledge of the whole tradition of the Polish nation and state and, against this background, of Poland's patriotic, progressive and revolutionary traditions;
- --solidarity and identification with one's nation and socialist state in every situation;
- -- the combination of service to the homeland and a civic sense with the moral and political values of the socialist system;
- -- knowledge and love of the native language and national culture, as well as the aspiration to defend and propagate this culture;
- -- the defense and propagation of one's social heritage and the frugal use of this heritage as of one's own private property;
- -- knowledge of the nature of the homeland and the aim to preserve it;
- of domestic development and the assumption of personal responsibility in common with others to formulate and implement this program. At present it is not popular to speak or write about our achievements. However, we must view the matter calmly and answer for ourselves the question of our genesis, our origins and the problems we have had in development. For there is not a single streak of defeat and error either in individual or group efforts on behalf of our nation. We have something of which to be proud in the history of People's Poland, although this pride is painfully wounded by the mistakes, the distortions and the uncommon or is of some periods, including those of the second half of the 1970's in par
- -- for state and national symbols;
- -- good professional and social work at every location and in every position;
- -- readiness to defend the country and to make the greatest sacrifices for the homeland in the event of danger;
- -- the consciousness that civic rights and responsibilities are interdependent (nb, L. Warynski has established this interdependence in the Polish workers movement);
- -- the active counteraction of nationalistic, nihilistic and cosmopolitan tendencies as well as those attitudes, phenomena and actions which damage Poland's good name throughout the world, which weaken the Polish state, its defense potential, its economic potential and its political and moral authority, which contradict the standards of socialist morality, in particular elementary universal moral standards as well as the class-worker sense of equality and social justice;

-- the linking of patriotism and internationalism as a condition of the implementation of our national interests and duties, the strengthening of our raison d'etat and our country's friendanip and cooperation with the USSR and the entire socialist community.

/The idea of patriotism is not of a static nature; some of its elements are enriched and others take on new meaning. As we have noted, however, its elements have a suprastructural character. The party and the concomitant political force and the socialist states have adopted these elements as part of their program, heir to the whole history of the nation./ The essence of socialist patriotism as ideology and the attitudes resulting from this ideology are in a state of evolution and are dynamic in character.

Proletarian Internationalism

A basic feature of socialist patriotism is its tie to proletarian internationalism. The substance of the modern concept of proletarian internationalism is rich and varied.

As is well-known, proletarian internationalism belongs to the basic categories of scientific socialism. Its genesis in practice is linked with the beginnings and the development of the organized workers movement; its theory is based on the programmatic slogan of the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of the world unite." The experiences of the workers movement have supplied the empirical conditions for the formulation of theoretical generalizations in the area of proletarian internationalism. At the same time, the idea of proletarian internationalism has its empirical justification in international sociopolitical life, in the practice of the international communist and workers movement and its national branches.

In scientific literature and contemporary sociopolitical practice, in its various contexts the concept of internationalism is defined in the following way: the principle of class solidarity of the proletariat of all the world; the principle (standard) of relations, cooperation and mutual assistance of communist and workers parties, both bilaterally and multilaterally; the idea uniting the international comunist and workers movement on a worldwide scale; the principle defining the relationship of communist and workers parties to progressive, nonproletarian national movements and social-liberation movements; the principle of the interstate cooperation of socialist countries (as distinguished from the principle of peaceful coexistence and the cooperation of socialist states with countries having a different sociopolitical structure); the element of the political attitude of citizens of the socialist state that is closely linked with socialist patriotism: the principle of the cooperation of nations and peoples making up multinational socialist states (e.g., the USSR, the CSR), which is the ideological basis for the creation of a new community of people on the historical scale-the socialist nation.

/The concept of socialist internationalism is closely linked with proletarian internationalism. The basic differences between these categories lies in the fact that proletarian internationalism originated along with Marxism, whereas

socialist internationalism in its genesis harks back to the period of the birth of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union./

Regardless of the substance of the ideas making up the categories of internationalism, (and these categories are not sharply defined in scope), what is basic in every case is proletarian internationalism, the classic character of this ideal-ogy preserved and the resultant sociopolitical practices maintained.

Although the constitution of the Polish People's Repussic [PRL] does not include the term "internationalism" itself, the principles therein defined of /the foreign policy of our state in substance correspond to the ideological premises of internationalism./

Every nation possesses its own traditions, its own culture and its own aspirations. What is most vital to the development of every nation--national and social freedom, equality, justice and peace--are likewise the values manifested by Marxism-Leninism, by the workers and communist movement. Internationalist views and attitudes enable us to implement these values to the fullest extent. They provide a real basis for the implementation of national interest in a highly complex world.

/The internationalist attitude has a class character; it is a component of the ideology of the working class, an ideology not invented by the communists, but discovered and formulated as an objective truth of the development of the working class and of the formation of its class consciousness./

The idea of internationalism originated not only as an expression of the theoretical considerations of K. Marx and F. Engels but also as a result of the practical experiences of class struggles and liberation struggles in earlier historical periods. It was the entrance of the macroindustrial working class into the historical arena that gave rise to the objective need for an ideology of this class. Proletarian internationalism, as an expression of common class interests of the working class of various countries of the world, has become one of the important elements of the ideology of this class and of its political position.

In the 19th century, proletarian internationalism became an antidote to cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism. It continues in this function currently in the 20th century.

Socialist internationalism, on the other hand, which is closely linked in its genesis and its operation with proletarian internationalism in practice, was born during the period of the October Revolution and became generalized theoretically after the coming into being of the worldwide socialist system.

The Problem of Unity

Within the scope of our interest lies the subject of the slogan "national unity." In our opinion, this is a very compromised slogan, particularly in the sense of moral-political unity as defined in a special chapter of a resolution of the Eighth PZPR Congress.

It must be stated however, that there is probably no political authority, government or party in the world which does not aspire programmatically to create national unity in order to attain its own goals.

The slogan of "national unity" is not foreign to the communist movement. /It is a programmatic assumption of the Marxist-Leninist party in every socialist country. It is likewise a slogan which has been part of the tradition of the Polish workers movement./

Let us call to mind the actions of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland--prewar] on behalf of the creation of the Popular Front, for example. In 1937, this party defined the Popular Front in the following way: "What is the popular front? It is the joint affair of all parties of working people today, of all of working and thinking Poland, independent of party affiliation, convictions and beliefs--it is the issue of the struggle for bread, work, freedom, for peace and for securing the independence of Poland."

These were the slogans upon which the KPP wished the Poles to concentrate their attention and around which it desired to organize them into a united force in the form of the Popular Front.

Let us likewise call to mind the fact that the war and the occupation also shaped the matter of national unity in a definite way. At that time the PPR [Polish Workers Party], as is well-known, formulated the idea of the National Front. "In this decisive moment," we read in the appeal of the PPR, "there stands before the whole nation the question of unifying all forces to fight to the death against the occupying forces, to fight for life, the task of creating the national front to struggle for a free, independent Poland."

Following the liberation of part of the country, in September 1944 the PPR further defined the idea of national unity as a condition of the ultimate liberation of the country, of the preservation of independence, the normalization of economic and social life and the reconstruction of the resurgent republic. It understood this unity as "the active, solid cooperation of all basic national levels, all democratic parties."

The slogan of the moral-political valty of the nation was established by B. Bierut at the Second PZPR Congress in 1954; at that time, the unifying factor of the nation was to be the struggle for peace and for the implementation of the six-year plan. B. Bierut anticipated that the struggle for national unity would last "as long as the fragments of the old parasitic classes exist and act in the name of the return of capitalism."

The above brief recollections of the tasks of Polish workers parties in the name of national unity have been made to point out the fact that the political representatives of the working class desired to create this unity and that the slogans under which the nation was to unite were very few and were limited to those which were most fundamental for the given historical period, those which had the greatest chance of being implemented.

During the period before the Eighth PZPR Congress and at the congress itself the issue of national unity took the shape that it perhaps will have in communism (V. Lenin in his work "The State and Revolution" predicted that people everywhere will become used to observing the elementary moral standards common to all humanity, without coercion, upon the advent of communism). Thus, neither our generation nor our children's generation will have empirical evidence of this.

At the same time, neither the contradictions accompanying the development of socialism nor the conflicts occurring within it have been considered. What is more, the slogan of the moral unity of the nation, the more it was exploited in the propaganda then, the more degeneration in the moral sphere increased. The class nature of morality and even politics was overlooked.

While we are right to criticze and reject the ahistorical and classless concept of national unity held earlier, I do not belief that we should go to the other extreme and abandon the concept in general. We have too many national and state values, including those introduced into our public life by the socialist system, which links Poles without regard for their party affiliation, their class affiliation or their world view.

/It seems to me, however, that a basic condition of the party's coming forth with slogans of national unity should be the real ideological, political and organizational unity of its ranks as well as its close connection with the working class and its enduring role of serving the class from which it arose./

The creation of this unity must take into consideration the diversity of views and attitudes throughout society and its rich mosaic of life styles. It must also be constantly aware of the contradictions and conflicts occurring in society. These conflicts do occur, and the consciousness of that fact and the disclosure of their nature and character should have an effect on sociopolitical practice. This practice should not deepen conflict but should aim at smoothing them over in the name of the primary interests of the nation and state.

The experiences of the period of People's Poland demonstrate that the overly one-sided cognizance of the established goals of the socialist structure in the area of national unity, faith in its monolith together with disregard for the realia of life and the conflicts of development—both objective and subjective—will lead to adverse social consequences and even crises. A positive aspect, however, is the fact that during periods of crises in the party, forces emerge which aim to eliminate those phenomena which have a disintegrating effect on social life. However, this should be a permanent process, not one which is manifested actively only during a period of crisis.

At the same time, however, we should counteract the activities of those units and extremist groups which consciously instigate and provoke all sorts of divisiveness in society, regardless of the ideological or political motivation of such division.

/In our state, we have many joint issues and tasks to resolve for which we have the support of a large majority of society. These should be used to unify the nation in the name of the good of the Polish socialist state./

8536

CSO: 2600/226

LEADING ROLE OF PZPR IN CHANGED CONDITIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Jozef Scwa, first secretary PZPR University Committee (KU) at the Higher School of Pedagogy in Rzeszow]

[Text] The PZPR is preparing for its Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

Resolutions and decisions from recent plenary meetings of the Central Committee prove that the party is aiming consistently at the best possible representation of the interests of the working class and the whole society. In the interest of society, it should exact from the administration the resolution of our growing problems. For this reason, the gradual, consistent action taken toward separating party organs from the organs of administrative authority, both executive and legislative, is so important. The slogan "The party leads, and the government governs" still does not render the full scope of the problem. It is something more than the mere separation of structures.

The frequent promotion of employees from the party apparatus into the administrative or economic apparatus is an undesirable phenomenon. It leads to the obliteration of the limits of competence and of the boundaries of the difference in methods of operation. Intraparty and representative democracy becomes distorted; the executive apparatus becomes set up and reconstructed through the method of appointment and cooptation based on the feelings of the individuals exerting influence on cadre decisionmaking. These and other irregularities foster disintegration and bureaucratic distortion in the party itself.

An outward sign of the merger of the various forms of executive authority with the party apparatus is the attitude to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Harxism is introduced into slogans and is propounded at meetings and gatherings, but is overlooked in social practice. This likewise relates, among other things, to the directorial role of the party. To speak of the directorial role of the party is to suggest its directive-administrative manner of operating. Such an understanding of the directorial role leans toward the usage curvatly in vogue to describe the sociopolitical concept of the leadership role of the party.

If we speak of the party as a leadership force, we also mean that alongside it, parallel to it or right behind it, there stand important forces which set in

motion the sociopolitical development of the country. We are thus faced with the question, what are we to understand by these forces, what is this leadership function of the PZPR to be? If our constitution states in Art 3, Para 1 that "the PZPR is the guiding political force of society in the building of socialism," then this force must be a real category, and not a facade; it must be corroborated in social practice.

The principle of the directorial role of the party, which has been long accepted in documents and party propaganda and was turgidly expressed in 1971 in the well-known formula "The party leads, and the government governs," did not wait for a model to be developed, and nothing need be said further about the implementation of this formula at various levels of leadership. This formula was a facade for the leadership at various levels (party and administrative) for obliterating the boundaries of responsibility for errors in decisionmaking. Among other things, it violated the principle of effective management in the country. For this reason, the system of the operation of intraparty structures of a legislative character should be remodeled from the bottom up, and from every angle. In addition, the tension between party elements (echelons of various levels) and the government administrative apparatus should be defined in the sphere of leadership, management and control over sociopolitical and economic life.

A matter of urgency is the creation of a system of relations between the party and the executive authority which would make their merger, their loss of identity, impossible. The party apparatus, based on the ambitious and healthy activism of the basic party organizations [POP], would then not become alienated from them and would execute its functions in the proper manner. Then it would be able to keep control over state authority, to inspire, to program and to carry out the proper policy with cadres on the basis of principles other than the system of familiarity.

The party as the guiding political force must take into consideration the fact that there are likewise other important social forces in the country which are organized, cooperative and support the development of the state, to which they must refer and with which they must reckon. The party cannot have a "monopoly" on everything, including wisdom and the infallibility of its leaders at the various levels of leadership. Thus, we are faced with the question: How is the leadership function of the party to be expressed?

The leadership role of the party should be examined on two planes: the internal and the external.

On the internal plane, the leadership role of the party should be expressed in the consistent self-regulation of its subsystems and shared functions and, therefore, of its structures, against the background of the sociopolitical and economic conditions of the country. It should be a very competent apparatus, directed by the precedence of social goals. The party leadership, its echelons and its units should spring, among other things, from the authority of the people who are employed in it or who are socially active. For this reason, the party should aspire to win over the most able candidates, those with the best professional and ideological-moral qualifications, to fill periodically changing (1-2 terms) directorial positions in its various echelons.

The external functions should aim at developing programs and guidelines for strategic directions of the socioeconomic development of the country on the basis of scientific analysis and prognosis; they should aim at the training, the selection and the advancement of cadres into directorial positions regardless of their party affiliation; they should aim to inspire and to control politically the implementation of the programs and tasks which are laid out.

In order for these functions to be able to bear the burden of the development of socialist democracy, the creation of guarantees relieving the state and administrative organs of excessive interference from party echelons in the form of so-called "adjustments" made in various, sometimes petty matters (which in the past was sometimes carried out to absurd limits). An effective structural measure in this area would be the refinement of functions in individual echelons at the gmina, the municipal, the voivodship and the central levels (together with the Central Committee).

Our long-range goal should be to stop maintaining the present structure of the party apparatus which, in large part, falls in line with industrial sector departments—cells of the government apparatus.

We should enforce the legally guaranteed principle relating to the separation of party functions, administrative functions and union functions. We should clearly establish the powers of employees of the party apparatus, eliminating the possibility of their making decisions in matters which, according to the law, are the business of the state trustee (the voivodship governor, the major, the director or the head of a gmina).

We should cast off the harmful practice of the far-reaching symbiosis of the party and state apparatus in the process of decisionmaking. In the past this was the cause of the excessive involvement of party forces and of its authority as a whole. The party should maintain a distance between itself and organs of the state administration in its work.

Against the background of the observations which have been made concerning the leadership role of the party in the process of leading and management of the country, it should be emphasized that this function, despite the uniformity of assumptions and principles, is implemented differently in various professional milieus, within various sectors and at various levels. This is the result, among other things, of the traditions and the wealth of party organizations, changing socioeconomic conditions and the operation of self-government and socialist democracy in work establishments, school and administrative institutions. At present, the trade union movement and the youth movement place the party in a fundamentally changed situation over that of a half-year ago. New categories of self-government and autonomy are arising with vigorous force. In conjunction with this, the model of the basic functions of the party, and likewise its leadership role in the life of the people, must be precisely defined on the basis of the conditions in which it is working.

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CSO: 2600/226

LIMITS OF CRITICISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 p 21

[Article by Waldemar Kania, Krakow; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The settling of accounts continues to dominate party discussion. At the same time, however, there is a growing awareness of the irrevocability of concrete, positive action. As yet, not enough energy has been unleashed to enable the implementation of all of the recommendations which have been made. As it is often emphasized in basic party organizations [POP], an action cannot be effective unless it is accompanied by a convincing, honest evaluation of the situation and by a clear-cut program. Current, accurate information about facts, events and processes made available to basic party elements is indispensable in the evaluation of the situation.

Is it possible as yet to make a complete analysis of the causes of the crisis and its meaning? It has been ascertained that however difficult and time-consuming this may be, it is necessary. This analysis must provide pointers for aktive and offer them methods of independent analysis of the situation in their environment.

No one denies the fact—it is emphasized at POP meetings—that criticism of the party's methods of operation is an indispensable factor of its work. Sometimes, however, it is difficult for PZPR members to determine what is criticism and what is merely politicking, in which criticism is an element of the political game of the opponents of the party and of socialism, instead of being at the service of real socialist renewal.

Not all people sufficiently appreciate the fact that there is a struggle going on which is often characterized by opposing, mutually exclusive arguments. It looks as though in some circles party members are "uncontestedly" handing over the field. Such is the case particularly where the party and its operatives are unjustly criticized and no one reacts to this criticism. It likewise issues from a certain mental breakdown of some party members and aktive and the acceptance in advance of any criticism leveled at the party and at specific persons. But there have been cases of excessive criticism which have not always been motivated by pure intentions.

In some circles, the move to portray an untrue picture of the party is gaining strength. And as long as such criticism serves the needs of party opponents, it is recognized as real criticism. But it is a portrait reflected in a distorted mirror. It seems to me that there should be a clearer definition of what sort of criticism is unacceptable, i.e., such criticism should be countered whenever it occurs. For example, /the view that the whole party has failed, that nothing that remains from the former period has positive value, is unacceptable./

The last period brought to light many concrete matters which we may not allow to simply run their course. All personal, organizational and political matters must be resolved; nothing may be put off ad acta. But is haste recommended? Time, reason and honesty are always advisable. Let us consider that a wave of emotion and the ardency of the campaign to settle up accounts may cause harm to people and inflict much moral damage. Personal decisionmaking may not be an element of individual policy which would serve as our "alibi."

There has also appeared another tendency which by now has been criticized more than once, and is now being reversed. In the past, the remedy for an unfavorable situation was to reorganize to a greater or lesser extent. We have the examples of the administrative reform of 1975 and the "reorganization" of local industry. Currently in many party elements there are aktive who likewise are under the spell of the "reorganization fantasy" with reference, for example, to the structure of party operation. In general this tends, often unconsciously, to weaken the party, although it is caused (so it is said) by the need to increase democracy, to eliminate powerless centralism and the like. The existing structure, however, is the result of a lengthy process; it is the generalization of the experiences of the party in this field. We cannot write it off only because someone suggests this. Although improvements are necessary and possible, these are determined by the substance of the tasks and the program, as well as the effectiveness of political actions of aktive and the apparatus.

The crisis was jolting for party members. Many members are still trying to understand how things could have come to this. But for many years in the party, in its basic elements we have seen and become aware of growing negative phenomena. Why, then, did we not heed the recommendations, why did we not analyze former crises? At the same time, there is demonstrated the need for guarantees and assurances that a similar situation does not occur. And it must be said that often the only way out seems to be in statutory guarantees, the only guarantees which have a formal character.

Does not the essence of the matter lie in acting according to the rules, in the practical operation of democracy, in the party's struggle both for the purity of its ranks, for the implementation of its program and for its aspiration toward ideological expressiveness? If the statute had been observed, then there certainly would not have been a crisis.

8536

CSO: 2600/226

RECENT 'POLEMICS' IN LITERARY CRITICISM CONDEMNED

Bacau ATENEU in Romanian No 2, Jun 81 p 1

[Article signed "A": "Literature and Civic Dynamism"]

Texty Nothing can be more foreign to any kind of creation, including literary, than stagnation, the conservative spirit and inert isolation from social-historical evolution. The important civic function of the creators of intellectual values in socialist Romania deeply involves them in the noble task of creating the new. The civic effect of the writers (who have exercised in these weeks their right as well as their duty as members of their professional community by seriously discussing the Principles of the National Writers Conference) has been emphatically expressed by the striking presence in the public consciousness of the most representative contemporary artistic creations and their unusually broad impact.

The reactions in the press, the discussions at the various meetings occasioned by the event, and the suggestions for further improvement of the organizational structure as well as the climate wherein the collective creative activity of the writers guild goes on brought out the fact that the literature of our time takes its inspiration from the achievements of this brilliant period and sees itself as inseparably bound to the people.

In reviewing the successes achieved by writers in poetry, prose, dramaturpy, juvenile literature, literary criticism and history, translations and journalism, the discussions of the Associations of the Union of Writers in Romania or in the press conclusively demonstrated that those successes are due to implementation of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's invaluable suggestions. Clearly as crystal the historical truth emerged that the Ninth Farty Congress opened up broad prospects of fulfillment for literary creation and culture as a whole and made the long dreamed of freedom of expression and advancement of true talents a reality of the Romanian social-political climate.

We may rightly maintain that these brilliant years have illustrated the real achievement of a new quality, demanded by the party documents primarily for the economic sectors of society but equally indispensable in cultural activity. As we well know, literature has a major function there.

From the RCF Program for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, the Principles of the National Writers Conference proceed with irrefutable logic to the determination of

a necessary reality that "extends man's intellectual requirements and demands broadening of his horizons of culture, knowledge and intellectual experience, posing new problems for literature." It should be pointed out here that a plea for consistently high ethical-intellectual standards and worthy and incorruptible behavior in everyday life is implicit in the true work of art. The idea that the writer can be one man in his lasting works and another in his existential attitudes and civic life is a disturbing anachronism today. The duplicity and hypocritical behavior of the man "with two faces," as character of that kind was called with the Romanian's common sense, inspire no one's confidence and cause harmful alienations, while infecting the respective writer's moral fiber particularly even if he harbors the vain belief that he is above the risk of contamination with the products of an obscure moral alchemy.

The writer who transfigures living history must aspire to the immortality of every line, and of any civic act he performs on behalf of his generation and in fact on behalf of the people that produced him. For in recognizing that he is committed, that is open to the truths of the life which the individual and the social community are combined, the communist writer becomes a public militant inconceiable unless he takes a stand devoid of any equivocation, because he has a noble faith in the lasting quality of his effort to create beauty.

It goes without saying that under these circumstance the dialogue will not be excluded but desirable, even when it takes the form of an intransigent confrontation of viewpoints. I could grant that the tension of the debate does not distort the truths involved even when it reaches the point of polemics of ideas. But unfortunately in Romania heated discussion of fundamental principles has degenerated too readily into divisive quarreling.

That is why the "polemics" that once polluted the Romanian literary climate were at least parastic gestures if not real diversions from the highly responsible options of current Romanian writing. They were all the more marginal because the characteristic traditions of Romanian literature agree upon forming its moral and aesthetic nature as one characterized by humanism, receptiveness to the new, ideological militance, accessible communication of the nessage or, more comprehensively speaking, the revolutionary spirit.

5186

CSO: 2700/330

RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS OF WORKERS COUNCILS

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 30 Jun 81 p 2

[Unsigned article: "Decision of the Second Congress of Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Trade and Finance"]

[Text] The Second Congress of the Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Trade and Finance, convened at the initiative of the secretary general of the party and president of the National Council of Workers, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, constituted an event of overwhelming importance in our country's social-political life, in the development and furthering of worker democracy and in the stronger af irmation of the role of the working class, a class which, in its position as owner of the means of production and producer of material goods, actively and directly participates in the leadership of society and in the elaboration and carrying out of the party's policy for the multilateral development of socialist Romania.

The current congress, the most democratic leadership forum of the working class and an essential component in our socialist system of democracy, in which over 11,000 workers participated, strongly demonstrates the decisive role played by the working class in our society and the fact that it is honorably fulfilling its historical role and mission as the leading class in our entire nation, with this being a certain guarantee for the economic-social development of the country and the defense and strengthening of our country's freedom and independence along its victorious road to socialism and communism.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils is being recognized, through the decisions adopted, as a moment of exceptional significance in order to achieve the objectives standing before our nation in the second phase of carrying out the program of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism.

The congress gave high marks to the role and decisive contribution of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in elaborating and carrying out the general policies of our party for the harmonious development of the country and in continually and originally improving the system of socialist democracy, as it was established during the last decade and one-half in close regard for the demands and problems that have appeared in each stage of building socialism.

The Congress of the Workers Councils unanimously approved the Speech Remarks the Economic-Social Development of Romania During the 1981-1985 Five Year of the Growth of the Role of the Workers Councils and the Development of a state Workers Democracy in Our Country, presented by comrade Nicolae Ceause evaluating it as a model of shining scientific analysis of the role of the working class in revolutionarily transforming Romanian society, of the level of development attained by our socialist economy and of the workers' tasks during the current five year plan and in the future. At the same time, the Congress gave high marks to the conclusions contained in the speech made by the party's secretary general at the conclusion of the proceedings in this great forum of the working class.

The Congress completely adopted the directives and guidelines formulated by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and decided to adopt them as a working program for the future activities of the workers councils and the other organs of collective leadership, for our entire working class and for all workers, in order to improve the work of these groups and increase their contribution to the management and good administration of the enterprises and all economic units, to the general activities for the economic-social development of the country and to fulfilling the provisions of the current five year plan.

The Congress decided that these important documents will also serve as the basis of all activities carried out by the ministries and central economic organs, and party, state and civic organizations.

The Congress expressed its complete satisfaction with the re-election of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as the president of the National Council of Workers by a unanimous and enthusiastically given vote by over 11,000 participants at the Congress, who expressed the will of millions of workers as their representatives in the collective leadership organs. This once again illustrated the complete trust of our nation in the party and in its secretary general, and the special importance that comrade Nicolae Ceausescu enjoys among the ranks of the workers for his untiring activities at the head of the party and state for the good of the Romanian people and the progress and prosperity of our socialist nation.

In carrying out its proceedings under conditions where our people have concluded successfully the achievement of the 1976-1980 five year plan and are fully involved in carrying out the objectives of the first year of the 1981-1985 five year plan, the Congress of the Workers Councils discussed and adopted new measures that will give an even greater impetus to worker participation in the powerful development of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration. This will occur under conditions of increasing the attributes of the general assemblies and the organs of collective leadership, and of mobilizing these groups to completely fulfill the decisions of the 12th Party Congress for the purpose of increasing national wealth and the people's material and spiritual standard of living and raising our socialist country to new peaks of progress and civilization.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils outlined the remarkable successes attained in all the fields of activity during the period between the two congresses and the results recorded during the first phase of carrying out the Party's Program, especially during the recently concluded five year plan which saw new and significant progress in the constantly ascendent evolution of our nation in the last 15 years - the richest and most fruitful period of achievements in the entire history of our country.

During the 1970-1980 period, industry developed at a sustained rate, Overall, industrial production increased approximately three times over and net production recorded an average annual rate of 11.6. Fixed assets reached a level of over 1,870 billion lei, a fact that created the conditions to increase national income and, on this basis, provided the means necessary for the economic-social development of the country and raising the people's standard of living.

The results attained in increasing industrial production stem from amplifying the process of increasing the technical level of production, extending modern technologies and producing certain new types of equipment, installations, machinery, materials and consumer goods.

Important progress was recorded in increasing labor productivity and the level of processing and use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, a process which favorably influenced the reduction of production costs.

During this period, the total amount of investments in the national economy increased from 67.1 billion lei to 186.4 billion lei.

Significant progress was recorded in agriculture, a branch in which production increased by 1.6 times at an average annual rate of 4.7 percent, thus providing industry with raw materials and the people with agro-food products.

As a result of the sustained rate of increases in all the branches of the national economy and the people's demands, transportation and telecommunication developed strongly.

A significant contribution to the general progress of society and to the achievements made by our people was made by science, which resolved problems of special importance regarding the modernization of the economy. At the same time, a closer relationship was attained between scientific research and technology, as well as design work, and the requirements of production.

On the basis of the development of the production potential in all the branches of the national economy, during the last two five year plans national income has had an average annual rate of increase of 9.2 percent, thus providing the resources necessary for economic-social development and the means for continuing to improve the material and spiritual standard of living of all the people. During the

1976-1980 five year plan, one million new jobs were created, with more than one-half in industry. A worker's real income increased by 29 percent, compared to approximately 20 percent outlined in the 1976-1980 five year plan, while for the entire decade the people's total income doubled.

The Congress stated that the rapid and harmonious development of the forces of production throughout the country and the growth of the national wealth and the material and spiritual well-being of the workers from the cities and villages represent the results of years of heroic work by the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and all workers, regardless of their nationality, constituting, at the same time, a powerful expression of the people's creative abilities and its decision to carry out the objectives of the party's scientific policies.

The Congress examined with high political responsibility and approved the draft Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for Romania during the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, as drawn-up under the direct guidance of and with an essential contribution from the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The Congress felt that his directives and objectives, which correspond to the decisions and guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, will ensure the uninterrupted economic-social progress of the country in carrying out the Party's Program of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism.

Similarly, the Congress discussed and approved other documents on the agenda whose implementation will lead to increasing the rate of modernizing the national economy, scientifically organizing production and labor, and increasing to a greater degree the productivity and efficiency of all activities, and to continuing to increase the material and spiritual standard of living and the quality of life of all workers.

In discussing carefully the Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for Romania during the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and the means of implementing the guidelines and directives in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech, the Second Congress of the Workers Councils emphasized the need for all the work of collective leadership to be subordinated to the achievement of a new quality in all fields of activity and to the unification of the efforts of the workers in industry, construction, transportation, trade and financial-banking activities.

To this end, the Congress decided that the first priority of the activities of the leadership councils of the ministries and central organs and the workers councils in the economic units will be concern for identifying the ways and solutions to use our powerful potential in industry and other branches at ever higher levels of efficiency and to promote a firm management policy for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, and rigorously apply the new economic-financial mechanism in order to achieve the program of continually increasing the people's standard of living.

Carrying out the provisions of the 1981-1985 five year plan means confronting the workers and the collective leadership organs in the centrals, production units and research and design units in the extractive industry with especially important tasks regarding the intensification of activities to discover and put into use new deposits of useful mineral substances and to draw up technologies for the most complex use of raw materials, including those with low useful-substance content and shale, as well as to use the hydro-electric potential in the production of electricity and thermal energy in the country.

The Congress decided to work more systematically for the better use of material and energy resources and the strict adherence to standard rates of consumption, and for the standardization of consumption rates for products and technological lines and installations.

The Congress gave the collective leadership organs the task of regularly achieving physical and net production and sold and paid-for goods production, which requires the full use of our technical potential in the units and the creative abilities of the workers, craftsmen, technicians and engineers.

In each sector or branch and in all industrial enterprises, the collective leadership organs must increase their attention and concern to improve quality, to ensure the technical and functional level of products and to increase the technical-qualitative and competitive parameters of these products.

In the field of foreign trade, the Congress gave the collective leadership organs in the ministries, centrals, economic units and foreign trade enterprises the task of increasing and diversifying commercial trade and international economic cooperation, ensuring a balance between imports and exports so as to achieve an active trade balance. The priority achievement of export tasks by structure and variety and at the qualitative parameters listed in contracts in all units must constitute the patriotic duty of each worker participating in worker self-mangement.

In discussing with a high spirit of responsibility the means of implementing the Program Regarding the Organization and Scientific Standardization of Production and Other Activities and the Growth of Labor Productivity during the Period 1981-1985, a program drawn-up at the iniative and under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Congress asked that all collective leadership organs place special stress on the achievement of the tasks in this program regarding, principally, the broad scale extension of automation and mechanization to a greater number of equipment and the improvement of technical assistance. At the same time, it is necessary for each worker to continually improve his level of professional training and to militate to strengthen order and discipline in all areas of economic-social life.

The Congress received with special satisfaction and decided to move without delay to applying the measures contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech regarding the continued improvement of workers' incentives in the sense of extending the principles of overall contract agreement to all the fields of material production, industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and research and design, for the purpose of achieving a strong increase in labor productivity and, on this basis, the incomes obtained from work.

The accentuated increase of economic efficiency requires each workers councils to work with all firmness to reduce production costs, especially material costs, through the struct adherence to standard consumption rates and the elimination of old technological producedures that are large consumers of raw materials, materials and energy, and to eliminate any type of waste.

The Congress felt that the direct participation of workers in self-management and self-administration requires each enterprise, section, work shop and worker to precisely understand what is being produced, how much is being consumed and what are the costs. To do this, the workers councils must organize activities in the enterprises so that the budget of incomes and expenditures will be the principal instrument in applying self-administration at all levels and will ensure the administration of entrusted material and financial resources with a maximum of efficiency and the achievement of production on-time and by types outlined in contracts, basic conditions for maintaining the balance between receipts and payments, as well as for the firm application of the new economic-financial mechanism.

In order to carry out fully and on-time the vast investment program outlined for the 1981-1985 five year plan, the Congress asked the workers councils in the design and construction-assembly units to provide on-time the appropriate documentation and preparations for projects - basic conditions for putting all facilities fully into operation within planned timeframes. At the same time, it is necessary to work with greater firmness to find modern construction solutions, to accelerate the industrialization of construction-assembly work and to improve the quality of this work, order and discipline at the construction site.

The sustained development of all the branches of the national economy in the coming years and the people's demands make necessary the continued improvement of activities in transportation and telecommunication, branches where the Congress asked for the more efficient use of transportation facilities, traffic safety, the rational organization and optimum use of these facilities, the mechanization of loading and unloading operations, the extension of the use of containers and pallets and the strengthening of labor order and discipline for all personnel.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils fully adopted the tasks and guidelines in the Program Regarding the Introduction of the Advances of the Technical-

Scientific Revolution in All the Economic Branches and the Intensification of Technical Progress, and the Modernization and Renewal of Production during the 1981-1982 Five Year Plan. The affirmation of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields of activities gives the scientific councils in the research units qualitatively new tasks, especially regarding the shortening of the research-design-production cycle, the more rapid development of the raw material base, the use of new in-country energy sources, the production of high-productivity machines and installations and the introduction of new high-efficiency technologies.

The financial-banking institutions and units will exercise a systematic review of financial activities in each central and enterprise, and will actively help them in establishing the measures that must be taken to accelerate the speed of turning over funds in trade and updating prices and to use each leu with greater efficiency so that the units will ensure the full achievement of planned profits.

The Congress gave high marks to the Program-Directive for Increasing the Standard of Living during the Period 1981-1985 and Continuing to Raise the Quality of Life, drawn-up at the iniative and under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Completed in full accordance with the general policies of our party and in close correlation with the economic-social development of the country, the program places man and his needs in the center of attention, as well as the greater satisfaction of the demands of all members of society, under conditions of increasing incomes from work and the social consumption funds of all the categories of workers and in close agreement with the scientifically substantiated rates of consumption of goods.

Conducted in a profound spirit of work, critical analysis and self-criticism of the activities of the collective leadership organs, and pointing out the shortcomings that have occurred in their style and methods of work, the Congress recognized with satisfaction and fully approved the measures presented in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech regarding the improvement of the activities of these organs for the purpose of increasing the attributes of the workers' general assemblies and councils, in full agreement with the ever more accentuated growth of the leading role of the working class in our society and corresponding to the new stage of development through which our country is moving.

Convinced of the need for the activities of the collective leadership organs to also move without delay to a new quality, the Congress adopted the ideas and guidelines of the party's secretary general regarding the improvement of the activities of the workers' general assemblies and the other organs of collective leadership, the continuing improvement of their style and methods of work and the mobilization of the energies and abilities of each member in achieving the tasks of these organs of worker democracy.

The Congress decided that the workers' general assemblies and workers councils will considerably increase their attributes in the management of the economic and social activities of the enterprises, in the better use of the technical and human potential and material and financial resources, in the discussion of proposals to nominate leadership personnel in the economic-social units, in the approval for accepting newly assigned personnel in enterprises and institutions and in the approval of proposals to punish or terminate persons who violate the norms for order and discipline or who do not carry out their duties as workers in an appropriate manner. This will be done so that all the plan indicators can be fulfilled under the best possible conditions.

Keeping in mind the decisive importance of the existence of a good labor climate upon the results of production, the Congress decided that the collective leadership organs at all levels will be more concerned with precisely applying the measures established in the realm of resolving the social problems of worker collectives and each worker and of achieving the measures contained in the program approved by the Congress to this end.

At the same time, the Congress decided that the workers' general assemblies and workers councils will ensure the strengthening of the workers' worker review and the precise, correct application of the country's laws and all the other normative acts. This will create the framework for carrying out all economic and social activities under conditions of high efficiency, thus bringing about an increase in the contribution of each worker collective to the constant growth of the national income and social wealth - an enduring basis for the further development of our entire society and for the increase in the material and cultural standard of living of all workers and all our people.

The Congress gave high marks to the creative, original contribution of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the enrichment, based on the realities in socialist Romania, of the universal treasury of theory and practice of building socialism and approved the theses of great scientific value regarding the definition of the socialist state as a state of workers democracy, which fully corresponds to the new social realities and real nature of the democracy, freedom and revolutionary humanism promoted by our socialist society.

In expressing full adherence to the party's domestic and foreign policies, the Second Congress of the Workers Councils assured the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, conrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the workers in industry, construction, transportation, trade and finance, regardless of their nationality, will work decisively and with revolutionary consistency for the exemplary fulfillment of the adopted decisions for the purpose of implementing the objectives of building a modern economy of high efficiency and productivity and of increasing the material and spiritual well-being of all the people.

The Congress expressed its conviction that our heroic working class, under the tested leadership of the party, will show the same high organizational and working capacity that it has exhibited countless times, ensuring the flowering of our socialist country, the prosperity of all our people and the carrying out of the decisive tasks of the 12th Congress so that during the years of the current five year plan Romania will go beyond the stage of a developing socialist nation and become a medium-developed socialist country.

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ROMANIA

YUGOSLAV-ROHANIAN SOCIOLOGY SEMINAR IN BELGRADE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Mar-Apr 81 pp 331-334

[Article by Honorina Cazacu of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] The first Yugoslav-Romanian seminar on sociology had as its topic of discussion social development and social changes. The Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the RSR was represented by a delegation made up of Professor Ion Dragan, Director of the Center for Sociological Research; Professor Dr Ion Iordachel, head of the Department of Sociology at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; Dr Honorina Cazacu, semior scientific researcher from the Center for Sociological Research; and Dr Vasile Miftode, lecturer at the A. I. Cuza University in Iasi.

The seminar's organizing committee was headed by Professor Dr Ruza Petrovic, President of the Society for Sociology of the Socialist Republic of Serbia [SRS]. Other members of the society's leadership as well as representatives of the People's Socialist Union of the SRS also participated in the committee. The works of the seminar were received by Milan Milutinovic, the republic level secretary for science and education, and Academician Radomir Lukic, vice president of the SRS Academy of Sciences. They both described this scientific effort as proof of the multilateral relations between our two countries. Over one hundred sociologists from Belgrade and other cities and Yugoslav university centers, representing the principal institutions of sociological research and education, took part in the seminar.

The sociologists from the host country presented sixteen reports. They were the following: Miodrag Rankovic, "Marxist Sociology and the Modern Theory of Social Transformation and Evolution"; Miloslav Janicijevic, "The Development of Productive and Kon-Productive Activities and Their Influence on the Transformations Resulting in the Economic and Social Structure of Yugoslavia"; Milorad Krneta, "Masic Methods of Measuring Social Development"; Silvano Bolcic, "Research on the Failure of The More Restricted Territorial Communities in The Interior of the SRS To Keep Pace With the Plan for Socio-Economic Development"; Petar Markovic, "Socio-Economic Transformations In The Yugoslav Village"; Laki Laszlo, "The Process of Disagregation and Its Social Consequences"; Mladen Stojanov, "An Experiment In Urbanization and Changes In The Village"; Miroslav Djordjevic, "Radio and Television as Means of Integrating The Rural and Urban"; Milana Damnjanovic, "An Aspect of the Transformation of Rural Culture and Its Ecological Implications"; Andjelka Milic, "Some Aspects of the Socialization of Family Functions in the Yugoslav Self-Management

In his report Miloslav Janicijevic stated that the present socialist societies have various forms in which a type or model of new society is shown. Although various models of socialism exist they have a sum of common traits. The basic common fact that property and labor are united "in the same hands" constitutes, in reality, the principal premise of socialism as a model of human organization. Although in socialism the totality of forms of production and distribution are also embodied in the economic sub-system, the key to complete understanding of socialist society in its entirety is found in the relationships between the economic and the political. All the essencial social relationships are concentrated in the political subsystem. This presumes the task of choosing the objectives of development and the control of their practical achievement. It also becomes the principal means of mintaining the permanent dynamics between the two broad segments of society: productive and non-productive labor. These two notions are defined as follows. Productive labor, that is, production, distribution and exchange of material goods [the economic subsystem]; non-productive labor, including education, culture, science and various forms of control of social power. In light of these two notions, viewed as being the two fundamental areas in which man affirms himself as a creative being, M. Janicijevic presents the practical solutions concerning the relationship between the two categories of labor in Yugoslav society. Using numerous data he demonstrates the influence of the relationships between the two categories on the transformations in the economic and social structure of Yugoslavia and criticizes certain disfunctionalities. The author takes a critical stand on the idea of some communists and sociologists in the socialist countries which revises the Thesis of Marx regarding the relationships between productive and non-productive labor.

The reports' theoretical approaches to the problems of social development were also accompanied by analysis of certain basic methods of measuring development. In this sense, the report of Milovan Krneta succeeded in measuring the epistemological value and the limits of the functions method, correspondence method, factorial analysis, discriminator analysis, and the method of modeling. He also estimated the particular value of the modeling method as determined by the manner of very complex treatment of social phenomena measurement.

The principal thesis of Silvano Balcic's report was the consideration of social development on the national level as an "asymmetric" process. In other words, the changes that result in one dimension of the degree of development are not accompanied necessarily and equally by changes in other dimensions. An increase in the level of economic development is not balanced with identifical effects in all dimensions of the standard of living. Through the intermediary of general and specific indicators the author made a detailed analysis of the levels of development of the various regions of the SRS. This established the existence of insufficiently developed zones and within them of smaller territorial communities with varying levels of development. S. Balcic estimates that underdevelopment is not a structural characteristic, however, and it can, therefore, be overcome by the socialist state. On the basis of a complex set of indicators, analysis of the network of cities in both the old and current socio-economic structures of Serbia has caused Miroslav Zivkovic to estimate that two negative trends are to be expected. These tendencies are the slowing of growth in the number of cities of average size and the over-urbanization in certain centers. The author debated certain questions Society"; Marija Biaci, "Changes in the Contemporary Urban Family with Particular Reference to the Conflict Between the Roles of Woman Worker and Mother"; Ugljesa Zvekic, "The Vertical Occupational Mobility of the Inter-Generation"; Ksenija Savin, "The Social Prestige of the Trades in Yugoslavia"; Sergej Flere, "The Social Conditioning of the Atheization Process in Voivodina"; Kovacs Zvekic, "Inter-dependence of Needs, Consumption and Way of Life."

A characteristic theme that arose from the Yugoslav colleagues' reports was the "creative searchings" in the direction of a Marxist sociological theory of social development and transformations. In this context, one's own country's experience as well as that of other countries is needed in building a socialist society. Both the dialogue and the positive contributions made by the "Marxist schools of thought," as well as by certain non-Marxist schools, constitute basic premises in our own country's effort to conceptualize the theory of social transformation and evolution. Overall, the reports presented were characterized by a "multilateral sociological knowledge" of the principal areas of change in Yugoslav society and their social implications. The manner of transformational development was arrived at through scientific analysis for the field research data and the general and specific indicators of the transformations. This, as well as an open critique of disfunctions discovered by analysis and out of concern to find solutions with a view toward their elimination, was evidenced in the approaches presented in the reports. By their content the reports showed the intensive scientific activity undertaken by Yugoslav sociologists both in the research institutes and in university sociological flucation. The concern for the issues of social changes and the attempts to formulate a theory of social development have been intensified due to the radical transformations through which the social at as well as a number of "third world" countries are passing. Both older and newer theories are found in contemporary sociology. Some theories try to promote a unique, single model while denying the multitude of paths of development, while others take into consideration this multitude but still remain with formulations that are too general. addressing the theories of modernization and multilateral development, Miodrag Rankovic argued for the need to systemize Marxist sociological theory and social transformation and evolution. He formulated several problems in this direction. One premise of this elaboration is the establishment of the basic sociological category of darxist theory concerning social transformation and evolution. In his opinion, the category of "social action" can fulfill this role as it satisfied the criterion of having the broadest analytical, explanatory content and simultaneously transcedes the structural, the static. From this point of departure M. Mankovic proposed a notional-analytical arrangement that includes such aspects as: social movement, social structure [stages, limiting states], social dynamics, social transformation ["continuous," i.e., growth, los; "discontinuous," i.e., innovation, creation, achievement), social development [in the progressive and regressive senses], social evolution, social revolution and social involution. He provided details on part of them and their relationships. In the question of categorization of total society the author demonstrates the necessity of elaborating a "multilateral" scheme of development. The scheme takes into consideration ideas from the works of Lenin and Plekhanov, the problem of synchrony and dischrony of contemporary French structuralism, the development of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, the issue of "Euro-Communism" and other points. This is a scheme to correspond to the diverse specific situations in the evolution from the old socioeconomic order to the new socialist one.

such as the lower, upper and rational limits of cities and the possibility of constructing the socialist-type city. Such cities would have to fulfill a series of conditions including the elimination of all forms of segregation, especially residential, and zoning; the overcoming of the center-periphery contradiction; the humanization of the city center; the predominance of public over private transportation and of moderate collective living [i.e., buildings with a moderate number of floors] over single standing living quarters. A number of reports analyzed the changes brought about by the evolution of the Yugoslav village, of occupations, the processes of social mobility, atheization of the population, as well as other changes. From the collection of reports presented by the Yogoslav sociologists arose a complex series of issues similar to a degree with those that demand the attention of sociologists in our country in addition to some new aspects. A review of them provides a good opportunity for theoretical-methodological reflection on the basis of the experience of an active collection of sociologists and also contributes to the broadening of sociological knowledge.

The Romanian participants in the seminar presented the following reports: "Social Research and the Policy of Socio-Economic Development in Romania" by Prof Dr Ion Dragan; "The Analysis of Development Through Social Indicators" by Prof Dr Ion Iordachel; "The Dynamics of Social Structure in the Socialist Republic of Romania [Systems and Concepts]" by Dr Honorina Cazacu' "Socio-Economic Development by Region: The Bahlui--Iasi Zone" by Lecturer Vasile Miftode.

The attention of the Yugoslav colleagues was particularly drawn to the Romanian contributions regarding the problematics of social development as they pertained to specific issues. These issues included the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, the concept of a multilaterally developed socialist society, the processes of social homogenization, the relationship between development, advanced technology and the values of socialism, the system of labor self-administration and self-management as applied in Romania, the system of education and training of the labor force, as well as aspects of sociology's contribution to the solution of social problems and the relationship between social research and determining factors.

The discussions at the seminar were lively and determined both by the major issues in question and by the scientific spirit that animated the participants. The manner in which the seminar was organized also helped promote the enthusiastic response. The sincere spirit, the colleagiality, and the polemical approach taken when presenting the varying viewpoints characterized the majority of discussions.

As part of the program the delegations were received by and had conversations with various noted persons. They included Milan Dragovic, vice president of the SRS; Professor Slobodan Unkovic, pro-rector of the University of Belgrade and president of the Committee on International University Relations; and Mihailo Popovic, dean of the Department of Philosophy and professor in the Section for Sociology at the University of Belgrade. A visit was made to the university's Institute of Sociology which provided the opportunity for an exhange of information concerning the organization and structure of university education in our two countries and especially the methods of training sociologists. It is worth nothing that the University of Belgrade as well as other Yugoslav universities have a 4-year sociology program and

also a post-graduate course of 2 years. Another visit was paid to the Institute of Social Research [Sociology Section] in Belgrade. It should be mentioned that all the social and sociological research institutes and centers in Yugoslavia are autonomous. They operate on the basis of contracts with economic, social, political and cultural organizations.

The program also included a visit to the autonomous province of Voivodina and cities of Pancevo and Novo Selo. At the residence of the Libertatea [Romanian: "Freedom"] Society in Pancevo the delegation met with Sava Decermic, president of Skupscina of the City of Pancevo, the capital of Voivodina province. They also met with Tudor Ghilezan, director of the Libertatea Publishing House which is responsible for publications in the Romanian language. They also met with the house editors, including the chief editor Aurel Gavrilov, who have worked on the Romanian language newspapers and magazines published here. The periodicals include LIBERTATEA [Freedom], LUMINA [Light], TRIBUNA TINERETULUI [Tribune for Youth] and BUCURIA COPIILOR [Childrens Happiness].

As part of the discussions conducted at the office of the Review of Sociology of the SRS agreement was reached and arrangements made for the complete publication of the Romanian and Yugoslav reports presented at the seminar as well as the discussions that took place on this occasion in a special issue of that magazine. Additionally, the management of Romanian magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL [Social Future] made its own plans made plans to publish the principal reports presented by the Yugoslav sociologists. Arrangements were also made for exchanges of sociological publications on a permanent basis; exchanges of articles between the sociological journals, and publication, in a spirit of reciprocity, of reviews of the principal works of sociology as they appear in both countries.

The Yugoslav-Romanian seminar on sociology and its related activities demonstrated the fact that the Society of Sociology of the SRS is indeed a very active organization. Its guidance committee, headed by Prof Dr Ruza Petrovic, has a large capacity for organizing and mobilizing sociological resources and it enjoys great prestige. The collaboration with this society has laid the foundation for close relations with the sociologists from this neighboring and friendly country. In addition to a better reciprocal acquaintanceship along scientific lines this cooperative work contributes to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship that join our two countries.

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BRIEFS

COPPER THEFT AT BAR--Recently about 200 tons of copper, containing some gold and valued at 20 million dinars, was stolen from the Port of Bar. This is one of the largest thefts in this part of the coast, but there is an official silence in Bar, although this has been an open secret for some time. The reason is that the results of the investigation are in the hands of the district public prosecutor in Titograd. But we have heard unofficially that six persons are in custody, two of whom were port employees, while the others were from Paracin, Sremska Mitrovica, and other cities. The copper was part of a 1,500-ton shipment which arrived from Chile in March 1980 and was earmarked for buyers throughout Europe. The network [involved in the theft] operated successfully until recently when it was noticed that the amount of copper in the port warehouse was declining from day to day. It appears that it was being used privately...and railroad cars were used to ship it. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 81 p 20]

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